

Message Text

SECRET

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ACTION SS-25

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E.O. 11652: XGDS-1

TAGS: PARM

SUBJECT: COMMENTS OF APRIL 11 MEETING (SALT TWO-697)

1. AT TODAY'S MEETING I MADE STATEMENT ON EFFECTIVE DATE FOR REACHING 2,400 AGGREGATE, POINTING OUT THAT IT WOULD NOT BE CONTRARY TO THE I.A. FOR EITHER OF THE SIDES PRIOR TO OCTOBER 3, 1977, TO BE UNDER THE CEILINGS PERMITTED Y THE I.A.; BUT IT WOULD BE CONTRARY TO THE VLADIVOSTOK ACCORD TO HAVE MORE THAN 2,400 SYSTEMS IN AGGREGATE AFTER OCTOBER 3, 1977. SEMENOV'S STATEMENT WAS BASED ON ARGUMENT THAT VLADIVOSTOK ACCORD AND IMPORTANCE OF NOT LEAVING ANY STRATEGIC SYSTEMS UNCONSTRAINED IN NEW AGREEMENT REQUIRED INCLUSION OF ALL ASMS WITH RANGES ABOVE 600 KMS.IN LIMITATIONS.

2. IN OUR PRIVATE CONVERSATION WE HAD LONG DISCUSSION ON QUESTION OF MAKING NEW AGREEMENT AS SELF-CONTAINED AS POSSIBLE VERSUS SOVIET APPROACH OF MAKING IT AS BRIEF AS POSSIBLE. I AGAIN URGED THAT AGREEMENT ON PRINCIPLE OF MAKING IT AS SELF-CONTAINED AS POSSIBLE IN NO WAY REQUIRED THEM TO SACRIFICE ANY OF THEIR SUBSTANTIVE POSITIONS, BUT IN'

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FACT WOULD FACILITIES DISCUSSION OF SUBSTANTIVE DIFFERENCES.

IN DISCUSSING THIS HE SAID THAT THERE WERE THOSE "NOT AT OUR LEVEL" (NOT CLEAR IF THIS REFERENCE WAS TO SOME IN HIS DELEGATION OR SENIOR OFFICIALS IN MOSCOW) WHO WERE "EMOTIONAL" ON THIS SUBJECT. HE APPEARED TO BE SAYING THAT IF THEY COULD SEE SOME MOVEMENT ON SUBSTANCE, IT WOULD BE EASIER TO DEAL WITH QUESTION OF FORM.

3. IN THE BILATERAL CONVERSATION BETWEEN SHCHUKIN AND MAY, IN RESPONSE TO MAY'S QUESTION IT WAS BROUGHT OUT THAT IN HIS PREVIOUS USE OF THE TERM "FIELD" SHCHUKIN HAD IN MIND A LARGE SELF-CONTAINED GEOGRAPHICALLY DISTINCT COMPLEX, SUCH AS ALL OF THE MISSILES AND SUPPORT FACILITIES AT MALMATROM (HEREINAFTER REFERRED TO AS COMPLEXES); THAT SUCH COMPLEXES WOULD BE EXCLUSIVELY DEVOTED EITHER TO MIRVED OR UNIRVED MISSILES; AND THAT THE COMPLEXES WOULD BE DESIGNATED AS BEING ONE OR THE OTHER ONLY WHERE THE US HAD A QUESTION. THEN SHCHUKIN ASKED WHETHER SUCH A RULE IF ADOPTED WOULD OBIVATE THE NEED FOR ARTICLE II 7 (ONCE TESTED AS A MIRV ALWAYS A MIRV) IN OUR DRAFT. MAY GAVE NO REPLY. SHCHUKIN ASKED WHETHER THE DESIGNATION WOULD HAVE TO BE MADE IN ADVANCE OF DEPLOYMENT. MAY SAID HE DID NOT KNOW, BUT IN HIS PERSONAL OPINION IT COULD OCCUR FOR INSTANCE EITHER AT BEGINNING OR AT THE COMPLETION OF DEPLOYMENT, AND THAT THE EXACT TIME COULD BE NEGOTIATED. SHCHUKIN SAID THAT HIS SIDE HAD NO QUESTION AS TO MIRVS ON MINUTEMAN II OR III, BUT IF SOME FUTURE MM-X WERE TESTED IN BOTH MIRVED AND UNMIRVED VERSIONS, HE PRESUMED WE WOULD DEPLOY MIRVED AND UNMIRVED VERSIONS AT DIFFERENT COMPLEXES.

4. ON SLBMS, SHCHUKIN REPEATED HIS VIEW THAT THIS PROBLEM WOULD BE EASIER THAN ICBMS.

5. IN ROWNY'S BILATERAL WITH BELETSKY AND TRUSOV, THE LATTER SAID THAT, WHILE MY STATEMENT TODAY CONSTITUTED A "SOUND LEGAL ARGUMENT", WE WERE FAILING TO APPLY THE SAME TEST TO OUR POSITION ON ASMS.

6. NEXT MEETING SCHEDULED FOR TUESDAY MORNING, APRIL 15, US MISSION.

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7. THERE WILL BE NO HIGHLIGHTS CABLE THIS MEETING. JOHNSON

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